DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 222 587 UD 022 297

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TITLE Community-Based Research and Approaches to Social Change: The Case of the Hispanic Health Council.
INSTITUTION American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 81
NOTE 26p.; Not available in paper copy due to institution's restrictions.
AVAILABLE FROM Frank Besag, School of Education, University of Wisconsin, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201 (write for price).
JOURNAL CIT Generator; v12 n2 p13-36 Win 1981

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Community Programs; *Cooperative Programs; *Educational Anthropology; *Educational Change; *Educational Improvement; Elementary Secondary Education; Ethnography; Health Programs; Hispanic Americans; Nontraditional Education; Program Descriptions; *Research Projects; *School Community Relationship; Systems Approach

ABSTRACT

This article reviews six programs that have applied anthropological concepts, methods, and research to implementing change in American schools, school districts, and communities. The programs are: (1) the West Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) Free School, an experimental alternative education program that emphasizes freedom, individualized instruction, and community participation in learning; (2) the Appleton School Project (Chicago, Illinois), which used a systems approach to school change; (3) the Latino Mother-Infant Project (Chicago, Illinois), which incorporated anthropological research findings into a prenatal education program for Mexican Americans; (4) the Puerto Rican Research and Training Project (Hartford, Connecticut), designed to develop ethnographic researchers in the Hispanic community and collect information on education related problems; (5) the Comprehensive School Based Health projects (Hartford, Connecticut), which utilized school-community collaboration to train students for health careers and generate health data; and (6) the Houston (Texas) Independent School District's evaluation and program monitoring activites directed by an educational anthropologist. Characteristics common to the programs include: use of a systems approach for educational change; emphasis on program implementors' ability to scan and evaluate the environment in solving problems; use of research, especially collaborative research; community involvement; consideration of learning theory; and long-term commitment of anthropologists. (Author/MJL)

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COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH AND APPROACHES TO SOCIAL CHANGE: THE CASE OF THE HISPANIC HEALTH COUNCIL

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The history of anthropology is characterized by many attempts to utilize anthropological concepts, methods and research results in the solution of human problems. The most familiar of these efforts include the work of anthropologists interested in culture learning and educational change. Perhaps one of the major advantages of the anthropological approach to education is its concern with the broader issues of socialization, culture change and culture learning in informal as well as formal settings. This breadth of scope encourages applied educational anthropologists to work with "students" or culture learners of all ages and cultural backgrounds, in settings ranging from schools to community clinics, and in groupings of all kinds. It also accounts for the many areas of activity in which educational anthropologists have been involved.

Initiated by the groundbreaking work of Maria Montessori, physician and anthropologist (Montessori, 1964), over the past fifty years educational anthropologists have contributed to the development of cross cultural curriculum materials and dissemination techniques, the creation of alternative educational programs in ethnic communities in the U.S., the organization of national education systems in Third World countries, or within ethnic enclaves of national systems, and policy research and evaluation methodology.

The purpose of this review is to document some of the more recent attempts by anthropologists to introduce and carry out educational change

efforts in schools, school districts and communities. Although a great deal of work has been done by anthropologists elsewhere, this article will deal only with applied educational anthropology in the U.S. Nevertheless, the examples presented here have implications for anthropologists and educators working in similar circumstances in other countries.

Proper understanding of these examples calls for a review of some characteristics of anthropology as an intellectual discipline which contribute to a particular configuration of resources available to applied anthropologists in addressing educational problems.

The Discipline of Anthropology

As a discipline, anthropology differs from the other social sciences mainly in its focus on field research in local communities, or in ethnic and cultural enclaves of larger national systems. This is not to suggest that the work of anthropologists has concentrated solely on these populations. But the methodologies and questions most characteristic of the discipline are derived from this emphasis and applied to other problems. Thus, anthropologists are well known for a field research tradition that rests on the researcher as primary instrument of data collection. To ensure validity, the ethnographic researcher attempts to remain for an extended period of time in "the field," engaging in participant observation, interviewing and voluminous note-taking. Through this process, the researcher develops close interpersonal relationships with informants in the field setting who often assist in the collection and even in the interpretation of the data.

Central to the anthropological approach is the utilization of systems models for structuring research activities in the field, and for focusing data analysis (Erickson, 1977). Certainly qualitative field

methods lend themselves to a systems perspective, since field observations often require examining the ways in which multiple "subsystems" interact in events and through roles. The "holism" of anthropology has expressed itself historically through "functionalism," systems theory, and ecological models. In the last the holistic perspective has gained new momentum through the introduction of quantitative methods which utilize mathematical and statistical models to examine the interrelationship of complex sets of variables in relatively small samples (cf. Pelto and Pelto, 1978).

Anthropology has been theoretically as well as methodologically eclectic. Examining the interaction of various levels and types of human behavior, anthropologists have drawn easily on theoretical frameworks from the other social and natural sciences, including psychology, psychiatry, political science, economics, law and even cell biology. What is particularly interesting and creative about anthropology, however, is its integration of interdisciplinary theory with grounded theory derived from the field experience.

The particular theoretical concerns of Margaret Mead around comparative socializations processes (Mead, 1949; 1961), coupled with the growing field of culture and personality, led to a post World War II emphasis among anthropologists on the cross cultural aspects of human development, enculturation and culture learning (see Spindler, ed., 1955). As the field became more involved in theories of culture change and industrialization, these interests focused to a greater extent on formal mechanisms for transmitting culture and introducing changes in beliefs, values and behavior. Indeed, schools were among the first contemporary bureaucratic institutions to be analyzed in sociocultural context by anthropologists.

It should not be surprising then, that these themes and methodological features would be applied by anthropologists to the identification, study and resolution of education related problems. Nor should it be surprising that anthropologists would tend to seek out and identify problems in the ethnic, cultural and minority communities within which they have traditionally carried out their field research.

Earlier efforts of applied educational anthropologists have included Hostetler's advocacy on behalf of Amish education (1972), Tax, Gearing and Peattie's account of the Fox project (Gearing et al, 1970), Redfield's advocacy on behalf of desegregation (summarized in Kluger, 1976), and Spindler's work on cultural sensitization (1974). The next section of this paper will review six current case studies in which anthropologists are combining research with social intervention skills to effect educational change.

Case I: The West Philadelphia Free School

In 1969, a group of Black community activists and parents approached the University of Pennsylvania for assistance in resolving a perceived problem of overcrowding in their local high school. The University agreed to support the development of an alternative education program and assigned Aase Erickson, a faculty member of the School of Education, and an educational anthropologist, to develop the school. "The result was the establishment of the West Philadelphia Free School, a non-graded experimental school based on the notions of freedom, responsibility in learning, individualized instruction and community participation in the learning process." (Erickson and Messina, 1972)

As director, Erickson facilitated the development of overall school philosophy, curriculum, criteria and hiring procedures for certified and

community teachers, links and educational placements for students in the local business community, and the ongoing involvement of the school's community Board of Directors in policy, curriculum planning and problem solving in the school. The school incorporated qualitative and quantitative research methods in its continuous evaluation design, and involved the entire educational staff in maintaining field notes, logs and a collection of secondary or archival materials. Ethnographic research methods were included in the curriculum, as students were encouraged to use interviews, mapping, observation techniques and other means of data collection to learn about their urban environment.

The school identified and maintained continual communication with supportive elements in the local Board of Education (which accredited the school and provided teachers), local businesses and industries, the University, and various sectors of the community which had originated the project. The director was particularly instrumental in attempting to understand and resolve communication problems between the community Board and the school staff, and in obtaining significant financial and other resources from the University, including student teachers and interns who taught and provided other forms of assistance at the school.

Various theoretical and practical concerns in the development of alternative education programs in community settings were summarized in a series of publications on teacher adaptation, the dynamics of leadership, and methods for establishing school/community partnerships in education. (Erickson and Fiske, 1973; Erickson and Gantz, 1974; Erickson and Messina, 1972)

Case II: The Appleton School Project, Chicago

In 1974, Daniel Scheinfeld, an educational anthropologist, received

a Ford Foundation grant to develop an approach to elementary school change based on principles of inquiry, affective experiential learning, and personal growth. This project was initiated through the efforts of two multi-ethnic activist community groups in two separate school districts on Chicago's north side which sought out assistance in improving their educational programs.

An interdisciplinary "technical assistance" or "facilitation" team, was formed, consisting of the anthropologist, several other social scientists who had worked with the anthropologist on a previous open education project (cf. Scheinfeld and Messerschmidt, 1979), and three educational specialists. Members of the team undertook a systems approach to school change, assuming the need to intervene simultaneously and in a complementary fashion with the teacher, in the classroom, in the organization and administration of the school, and in the school's relationship with the community and the district superintendant.

Members of the team worked to introduce material, spatial and other curriculum changes into individual classrooms. They introduced new methods of participatory decision-making into the organization of the school, built parents into school and classroom activities and bilingual and other policy making committees, and incurred support for school change at the district level. The approach was first utilized in a somewhat resistent setting with limited principal support, and was later introduced into a school in which considerable support for the project existed at all levels. Entry into the classroom, school and particularly in the case of the second school, was preceded by a period of intensive observation and interviewing, and qualitative methods of field research were used to assess organizational problems and ongoing change at each level of intervention.

A comparison and contrast of experiences in both schools, led the team to concur on the importance of extensive prior research and planning with all involved sectors, sustained community involvement in curriculum, policy and classroom activites, and the importance of teacher "ownership" of the project. The last was determined to occur through allowing the change process to emerge as a result of interaction between change agents and teachers, rather than through the direction of the facilitation team--a lesson cited also by anthropologists associated with the University of Chicago Fox Project (Peattie, 1960). The team produced a number of working papers and several manuscripts outlining theoretical and applied aspects of the change model and local school change. (Nicholas et al, 1977; Scheinfeld, 1980)

Case III: The Latino Mother-Infant Project, Chicago

In 1974, several community organizations on Chicago's predominantly Mexican American West side, became concerned about the difficulty of access to health care and its potential impact on maternal and child health. Spearheaded by a local community mental health center, these organizations and other community members formed a Mother-Infant Advisory Committee. Recognizing the importance of obtaining data on the behavior and attitudes of new and expectant mothers, the committee supported the submission of a research proposal to NIMH. Anthropologists wrote the proposal with members of the committee, and upon funding, anthropologist Stephen Schensul became the principal investigator, with anthropologist Gwen Stern as on-site research coordinator.

The committee, including the anthropologists, who had extensive research and programatic experience in the community, held a series of hearings, soliciting community input into research questions, and sugges-

tions for candidates for paid community research positions. The committee hired ten community researchers who received training from Stern and Schensul in interviewing skills, assisted in the development of the final survey instrument, and participated in workshops focusing on community education in perinatal health. These researchers completed a total of 89 intensive interviews with pregnant women and women who had delivered babies within the six months prior to the interview. Subsamples were chosen in accordance with major socioeconomic and demographic variations identified in previous research in that community, and the data, upon collection, was computerized. (cf. Schensul, 1973; 1974; Schensul and Bymel, 1975)

Research indicated a significant decline in breastfeeding practices as well as in linguistic and cultural barriers to care prior to and during delivery. In addition, it demonstrated lack of perinatal education and late involvement in prenatal care among clinic users (who constituted most of the sample). Poor psychological outcomes were evident for second and third generation and working mothers, both of whom lacked family and traditional postpartum supports, such as the cuarentena (Stern, 1979; Schensul, J., Schensul, L and Stern, 1981).

These results were incorporated into a prenatal education program, "Dar a Luz" (To Give birth), which included prenatal classes, outreach, postpartum home visits for support, and to encourage breast feeding, community education in schools and agencies, and parents' rights education. In addition, the project stimulated further research on breast and bottle feeding and child abuse.

In this project, Stern, as anthropologist, collaborated with members of the Mother Infant Advisory Committee and a local women's group, Mujeres Latinas en Accion, in training researchers, collecting, analyzing

and writing up data, translating data into program development, generating materials and community education methods, and developing additional research projects. With her current base in Northwestern's Department of Anthropology, she is able to bring some of the resources of the University to bear on these projects, as well as offering opportunities for the training of anthropology students.

This project demonstrates the utility of basing research on ethnic communities in representative community agencies able to utilize the results for educational intervention purposes. At the same time, the Mother Infant project has supported new perspectives on intraethnic diversity in a particular subset of health beliefs and practices, and clarified their usefulness in the creation of targeted educational programs.

Case IV: The Puerto Rican Research and Training Project

In 1977, a Hartford-based Puerto Rican research and advocacy agency completed a three year study of problems encountered by Puerto Rican students in the local public schools. This study gave rise to a bilingual education suit against the Board of Education, which was resolved in the form of a consent decree to be monitored by a citizen/educator committee. These events stimulated the education task force associated with this organization to develop a program to train educators and community professionals in ehtnographic research methods to be applied to the documentation and anlysis of education-related problems in the Puerto Rican community. An educational anthropologist, Jean J. Schensul, collaborated with the task force in the development of this program.

A three year project was funded by the National Institute of Education, and based at the Hispanic Health Council, a newly formed health and

education oriented community research institute. The project had the following goals:

1. to develop a pool of trained researchers in the Hispanic community able to address community research needs;
2. to expand existing data bases in education and related areas, including bilingual and career education, child care, parent involvement in schools, and the health of school aged children;
3. to develop links between the Hispanic community and the area's univerisities and colleges;
4. to develop a community information and technical assistance resource center focused on education-related areas;
5. to support continued training and interaction of Hispanic researchers.

Over the past several years, the program has supported the training of over 35 teachers, administrators, community activists and leaders, and social service staff in research concepts and methods. In addition, it has made possible the collection of data and research reports on education-related problems now stored in the resource center/library of the Hispanic Health Council. The program has sponsored workshops on research methods and topical concerns, including training in the use of computers, and in statistical analysis.

For the past two years course sequences in research methods were accredited by the University of Connecticut Graduate School of Education at the M.A. level. The program currently links the Hispanic Health Council to the New Hampshire College School of Human Services, New Haven Campus. This link permits B.A. level students of the college to take community-oriented research courses covering basic principles in qualitative and quantitative research, as well as methods for utilizing research

in education-related problem solving. At the same time, the relationship allows the Hispanic Health Council staff to recruit Hispanic B.A. level students from the Puerto Rican community, and ensure them of support in the completion of a degree. Still in its early stages, the project has begun to develop a network of local educators and service providers interested in using research as a tool for institutional and community change.

Throughout this project anthropologists have worked with community researchers and administrators in the development of culturally appropriate curriculum materials on research methods (for which they have drawn extensively on curriculum developed by Stephen Arvizu and Margaret Gibson, California State University Cross-Cultural Resource Center), team teaching, counseling, and other supports for students, the establishment of links with local universities, recruitment strategies, and workshops on observational skills, statistics and instrument-building.

Case V: Comprehensive School Based Health

In 1977, a local Puerto Rican health committee concerned with the health of school aged children, supported the development of a health screening project for new arrivals in a Hartford middle school with a large Puerto Rican student population. Susan Heswick, an educational anthropologist and program developer in a multiethnic social service agency active in the Puerto Rican community, was able to utilize her base to coordinate the middle school health department, her own agency, a community based clinic and a Hispanic research institute, around the provision of medical services, community education, and follow-up care for students and their families. In addition, she was able to supplement the program, as well as the institute's data base, by examining the relation-

ship among sociodemographic, cultural, health and school performance data in the program's student population.

This project helped to form the conceptual basis for utilization of the school system as a location for primary prevention, research on children's health, the creation of multiethnic health education curricula, and the "practicum" training of medical and allied health students. In 1979, a local area health education center, then directed by anthropologist Stephen Schensul, approached the Hartford public schools with an invitation to collaborate on the development of a comprehensive school health plan and program. The concepts underlying this plan were:

a) the integration and coordination of existing health education, service and career components of the school health program.

b) the training of health careers students in direct service and primary prevention through school system programs.

c) the expansion of these programs with student assistance.

d) the development of a data base on children's health, through collaboration of school and community based helath specialists and social science researchers.

This proposal, written collaboratively by school personnel, community representatives and anthropologists, was unanimously approved by the Board of Education. Shortly thereafter, the Area Health Education Center allocated funds to support two coordinating positions in the community and in the school system. These coordinators have developed training experiences for students, organized workshops and seminars at the University of Connecticut for faculty and students, and facilitated new school/community efforts around health services and the development of health education curriculum.

At the same time, anthropologists are working with school health specialists in the Hartford area to produce a policy oriented monograph on school health issues in urban areas (Schensul, Constantine and McGraw, 1982, forthcoming). This overall research and practice setting has produced a receptive environment for research on children's diseases impairing school performance. Anthropologists have been instrumental in bringing community and school personnel together around research and development projects in asthma (Guarnaccia, 1981), otitis media (Allen, 1981) and diabetes (Bernal, 1981). These school based projects in the Hartford area have displayed particularly well the facilitative skills of applied educational anthropologists in drawing together many different sectors around research, training, service provision, curriculum development and a vision of long tern impact on communities and educational institutions in the area of minority health and mental health.

Case VI: Houston Independent School District

In 1980, an educational anthropologist, Margaret LeCompte, left a university position to direct the research, evaluation and accreditation department of the Houston Independent School District. This department is responsible for the following activities:

1. compilation of pre- and post-assessment of student gains in achievement, using statistical techniques to control for variation among different sub-groups within the study population;
2. monitoring of program compliance with state, local and federal guidelines, documenting program implementation and achievement of objectives, and provision of feedback for corrective action on problems in program implementation;

3. the development of interim and final reports on programs, specifying problems which are sent to administrators, superintendants, program participants and members of the Board of Education, and which must be addressed in writing within a specified period of time;

4. workshops on testing, instrument development and substantive program areas for program personnel;

5. technical assistance to program personnel in proposal development and data collection instruments, and designing of evaluation procedures;

6. data presentation to task forces;

7. provision of resources to planning committees.

In addition to expertise in qualitative and quantitative research methods, the staff of this program is required to display boundary-spanning skills (Schensul, 1981). LeCompte comments in this regard:

> "While technical skills in research, evaluation and writing are very important for project evaluations, equally critical is objectivity and the ability to get along with people. My staff has to cope with constant marginality. They have to maintain friendships in order to have access to data; however, they may have to "write up" their friends for non-compliance. They perform a liaison function; since they talk to everyone, they may be the only communication link among disparate programmatic and administrative components. They broker among groups with very different, often antagonistic interests, and must be skilled in bargaining, negotiating, and conflict resolution. They must be poised, have a sense of humaor and maintain a reasonably professional appearance so they blend into the school landscape. Because they are very competent, they, and I too, are under constant pressure to fill gaps by making policy decisions or becoming involved in administrative work. We constantly must define the limits of our roles to others, who would want those roles expanded infinitely. If they were, we could not maintain our objectivity." (LeCompte, personal communication, 1981)

These characteristics of the internal evaluator are typical of the problems faced by evaluators in general, and of applied anthropologists involved in what George Roth refers to as "high risk" research in which the anthropologist must work quickly to obtain a well-balanced, objective

picture of a sensitive situation from multiple sectors with vying interests in order to generate policy which impacts directly on the research population. (cf. Symposium on "high risk research," SFAA Meetings, Lexington, 1982).

Discussion

The cases described above were selected because they represent themes typical of anthropological approaches to educational problem-solving. Certain of these, such as the emphasis on combining qualitative and quantitative research methods, cross cut all the cases; others, such as ethnic-based educational change do not. Nevertheless, taken together, the following can be said to characterize most of applied educational anthropology:

1. A Systems Approach to Educational Change

All of the cases chosen for description utilize a systems approach to educational change. That is, strategies for addressing educational problems do not focus on a single target area. Instead, change is seen as stemming from interventions at different levels and in several different aspects of classroom or organizational behavior and culture. The Appleton project, for example, views change in individual teachers as derived from interaction with material changes in the classroom environment and organizational changes in the school. The Hartford school health projects have seen organizational and individual change resulting from the interface of multiple systems around the solution of a particular problem, such as the development of health services for underserved students. The Puerto Rican research and training project utilizes a combination of individual counseling, group problem-solving, network building, and advocacy to facilitiate long-term institutional change. This

perspective is important in program evaluation, since program goals are often impeded or otherwise affected by unpredicted internal and external factors. Most important for the anthropologist, in practice as well as research, is delineation of which elements of the larger system are likely to be most crucial or most sensitive in implementing desired change. The selection of elements usually stems from a combination of theoretical orientation, ideology or values of the anthropologist and associated colleagues, and prior experience.

2. Boundary Spanning Skills

This "holistic" approach to change requires a particular set of facilitative or boundary spanning skills and abilities, important in bringing disparate elements together around joint problem-solving efforts. These skills include the following:

a) ability to "scan the environment" or assess the cultural, structural, behavioral and material aspects of programs, classrooms and other settings;

b) the ability to identify "sympathetic sectors of otherwise unresponsive institutions" and to explore interests across these sectors which can be translated into a common language around shared problems;

c) the ability to resolve conflicts while maintaining and enhancing interpersonal relationships;

d) the ability to remain "marginal" or independent in carrying out research and making judgments, so as to maintain rapport with all sectors;

e) the ability to understand and continually define the boundaries of a particular job or a set of abilities in order to sustain a reasonable workload.

Finally, as the Appleton project demonstrates, boundary spanning requires that the anthropologist retain flexibility in approaching educational change, in order to ensure the commitment of participating individuals and institutions. The process may be described as a negotiated balance among differing interests moving in the same general direction.

Anthropologists, like administrators, are not formally trained in facilitation skills. Field experience, however, coupled with observation and systems analysis, provide useful tools for anthropologists in boundary-spanning roles.

3. The Role of Research

Anthropology is a social science discipline the legitimacy of which rests on its ability to produce credible research results. Consequently, most qualified anthropologists are not only skilled researchers, but find it both necessary and desirable to include research methods, and results in applied projects. Research played a significant role in all of the projects mentioned in this paper, although its functions varied from project to project. The alternative school projects, for the most part, utilized research as a tool for process evaluation. In the Philadelphia and Appleton projects, qualitative or descriptive data coupled with test score outcomes, offered a basis for program monitoring, feedback, assessment of outcomes and program legitimacy. These programs utilized research on student populations less to create programs in the first place than to assess their effectiveness. In the community-based programs, on the other hand, research functioned to a greated extent as a means of determining intra-group or intraethnic diversity in educational or health related problems. These variations were seen as important in providing the basis for programs targeting to the needs of specifically defined groups. The Puerto Rican research and training project assisted trainees

to understand and utilize both forms of research in improving services to client populations.

It is interesting to note that, with the exception of the Houston evaluation work, research was carried out in collaboration with institutional or community actors, or a combination of both. Many researchers have supported the methodological advantages of collaborative research, pointing to improved survey instruments, data quality and validity, and interpretations. Over and above improved method and theory, we would argue that collaborative research brings anthropologists as researchers into direct and continual contact with those key community actors who can most effectively understand and utilize the results of the research. Since the purpose of evaluation is not research, but critical assessment of already existing programs for policy purposes, it is to the advantage of the researcher to remain outside the "action"; the opposite is true for education change agents.

All of the projects strongly supported the utility of employing qualitative and quantitative research modalities in some integrated fashion. As Erickson notes: "Observational techniques coupled with quantitative data offer some promise of providing us with information not only about the ways in which students learn, but also the circumstances and situations which are most conducive to learning and to fruitful interaction." (Erickson, 1974, p. 116)

It is generally agreed that qualitative research can give us information on how programs and classrooms "work," or as Frederick Erickson comments: "Qualitative research seeks to tell us what the game is; what attributes of things in the game are functionally relevant to playing the game, what appropriate relations among things there are in the game, and what the game-related purposes of the players are." To continue the

analogy, quantitative research, in the way it is most usually applied in educational settings, tells us whether differences in the outcomes between two groups playing roughly the same game, are statistically significant. Several of the projects, however, move beyond this point to attempt to inform us concerning the range of variation among players who enter the game, variations in so-called "treatments" and consequent variations in outcome. Thus, for example, the Mother-Infant project differentiates among four separate subpopulations (recently arrived, long-term immigrants, Chicanos, and working women), adaptive resources (social supports and patterns of health care system use), and outcomes (including reactions to pregnancy, post-partum reactions and feelings during delivery). A complicated multivariate statistical analysis indicated variation among groups in adaptive resources and health outcomes, with consequent implications for program planning. Houston's evaluation department offers a significant advancement in outcome assessment by examining the range of variation in test score outcomes in relation to other factors. Thought of in this way, quantitative analysis using multivariate statistical techniques can validate our perceptions of how players play the game and why the outcomes are as they are.

4. Community Involvement in the Change Process

Reflecting deeply rooted directions in the discipline, most of the cases cited involved some form of collaboration between the educational anthropologist and active sectors of ethnic, minority or otherwise differentiated communities. In two cases, those of Appleton and Philadelphia, community activists initiated the collaboration directly and pressured the educational institution to seek assistance outside the school system. Several of the other projects began in the community and involved early collaboration between the anthropologist and community

leaders in carrying out community research on education-related topics, and subsequently approaching other institutions to facilitate change in curriculum organization, or ways of relating to students or "users." Some would claim preference for the latter model, claiming that it strengthens the ability of a community institution such as the Hispanic Health Council to work on an equal basis with a large scale educational institution, thus increasing the effectiveness of the change effort. Experience with both approaches, however, points to the importance of increasing the awareness of mutual needs, both in the institutions and in the community. The Philadelphia experience demonstrated problems arising when an insufficient base has been laid in the community; the Mother-Infant project, on the other hand, has not yet reached the larger health care institutions, such as the local hospitals and outpatient clinics.

One could argue, therefore, that the base or "initiation point" is less significant for the anthropologist than the long term effort made to facilitate independent, face-to-face communication and joint planning between the concerned community of residents and the institutions that serve it. Research training provides a useful tool for key community, as well as institution-based "actors," in understanding the complexity of both settings.

5. Understanding the Learning Process

Most applied educational anthropology projects utilize an interdisciplinary approach to understanding learning processes. In several of the cases mentioned here, the theoretical base for eudcational change was explicitly outlined. Anthropologists in the Appleton project, for example, drew on cognitive and affective psychology, theories of art and learning, and ecological approaches to human development and organizational change. Similarly, the Mother-Infant project drew on theories of

migration and culture change in predicting and explaining variations among Mexican-American mothers. In contrast, the Puerto Rican research and training project utilized theories of adult learning based on experience and personal knowledge, as well as Freirian concepts of culture learning, but did not find it necessary to conceptualize them clearly.

Interestingly enough, only the early phases of the Appleton project demonstrated detailed descriptions of children in learning settings sufficient to permit the development and testing of theories of learning in cultural context. As Scheinfeld has noted, it is difficult for anthropologists to function simultaneously as architects of change and students of the change process. One could argue that real understanding of learning processes requires an experimental modality in which anthropologists and eudcators or "socialization agents" systematically change the context and content of learning and study the consequences. Both the collaborative research model and the inclusion of an additional researcher in an applied project are solutions to the constraints of time and role conflict in action-research settings.

6. Long Term Commitment to Local Field Sites

Historically, anthropologists involved in major change projects have rarely spent less than two or three years in the "field." In urban settings, three to five years of effort with schools, communities and other institutions is quite common. This length of time is usually necessary to build the networks required to affect large scale "systems change," and to engage in high quality research with results for practice. First time entry experiences in complex urban institutions and contemporary ethnic communities may well require more than a year (cf. Scheinfeld, 1980; Schensul, 1974; Stull, 1979). While entry for more experienced

intervenor may require less time, the actural intervention period and subsequent evaluations often continue over several years. The "classis cases" in applied anthropology usually reflect six to ten continuous years in a field site, and include numbers of anthropologists with different roles (Adair and Deuschle, 1970; Dobyns, et al, 1971; Nunez del Prado, 1973). Of course, persons and financial and political constraints make such indepth commitments difficult for many anthropologists, who must settle for shorter, and perhaps more intense, experiences. Nevertheless, Mulhauser may be accurate when he suggests that anthropologists are best suited for developing and carrying out long-term research and development projects in local sites, which can then be adapted for use elsewhere (Mulhauser, 1975).

Anthropology as an applied discipline concentrates on understanding and change collective human behavior. It is particularly tempting in the fields of education and health to move away from this position, because clients or users of these service systems are seen by service providers and socializers as individuals - or at best as members of family units. Our strength as an applied field lies in our ability to identify patterned cultural differences in beliefs and behavior between and within human populations, so that learning environments can be organized to respond to their needs. Our emphasis has been, and should continue to be, on the development of frameworks for change which stem from the cultural experience of learners, and are then brought to bear on the culture and organization of service institutions.

Anthropology is called into play whenever social institutions newly confront each other and individuals as members of ethnic and cultural groups are required to learn new adaptive strategies in order to accommodate to one another. Most of the work of applied educational anthropolo-

gists is directed toward easing and facilitating cultural identity and intercultural interaction, and studying the means for doing so. Since change and ethnicity are constants in a shrinking world, the utilization of applied educational anthropology can only increase.

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